

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

No. 26.]

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POEMS BY A SLAVE IN THE ISLAND OF CUBA,
WITH THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY LIFE OF THE NEGRO
POET, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF;

To which are prefixed Two Pieces descriptive of Cuban Slavery and the
Slave-traffic, by R. R. MADDEN, M.D.

London:—Thomas Ward & Co., 27, Paternoster Row; and may be
had at the Office of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New
Broad Street.

BRITISH RECOGNITION OF TEXAS.

THE following resolutions were published in a second edition of
our last number:—

At an adjourned meeting of the committee of the British and
Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad Street,
London, on Wednesday the 2nd day of December, 1840; Jacob
Post, Esq., in the chair—

It was unanimously resolved,

“I. That, inasmuch as the system of slavery forms an integral
part of the constitutional law of the new republic of Texas, this
committee have heard with feelings of the deepest sorrow and
humiliation, that Her Majesty's government have been induced to
enter into a commercial treaty with its representative, by which
act that republic has been introduced to the high distinction of a
place amongst the great family of civilized nations; and that thus
the moral dignity and national honour of this great country have
been outraged, the dearest interests of multitudes of human beings
—their liberty and happiness—trampled under foot, a fearful im-
pulse given to slavery and the slave-trade, and the sacred cause of
Christianity, civilization, and freedom immeasurably retarded.

“II. That, in view of the great fact that the legislature of this
country, stimulated by the Christian zeal of its people, has abol-
ished for ever the guilty traffic in human beings, and terminated
the atrocious system of bondage which formerly existed in the
British colonies; and that the government has perseveringly, if not
hitherto successfully, sought the entire suppression of the foreign
slave-trade, at an enormous cost of the national treasure and
of human life; the committee cannot but express their great as-
tonishment, as well as their profound regret, that Her Majesty's
ministers should have entered into friendly relations with a people
whose first act, after a successful but wholly unjustifiable revolt,
was to engraft on their constitution the system of slavery, to create
a slave trade between the United States and themselves, as well as
for the utter expulsion of all free persons of African descent, and
the final extirpation of the aboriginal tribes from the soil; and thus
to violate every principle of humanity and justice, and to consoli-
date, extend, and perpetuate slavery and the slave-trade in a
country, which, as part of the Mexican Empire, had been previously
devoted to freedom.

“III. That, therefore, this committee, as the organ of the Anti-
slavery principles and feelings of the country, feel bound to enter
their solemn protest against the recognition of the independence of
Texas as a most immoral and impolitic act—alike uncalled for by the
justice or the exigency of the case—as fraught with the most in-
jurious consequences to mankind, and as consequently deserving the
unqualified reprobation of all good men.

(Signed,) JACOB POST, Chairman.”

The preceding resolutions have been transmitted to the Foreign
Secretary, accompanied by the following letter.

To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Palmerston, &c. &c.

27, New Broad Street, London, 7th December, 1840.

MY LORD,—I beg to transmit to your lordship a copy of reso-
lutions of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery
Society of the 2nd instant, and deeply regret the occasion which
has called these resolutions forth; and permit me to solicit your
lordship's attention to them as the unanimous and deliberate ex-
pression of their sentiments.

Whilst Great Britain sanctioned by her laws, or by a guilty
connivance, the system of slavery and the African slave-trade
which formerly prevailed in her colonies, it was impossible, consis-
tently with her own evil practice, to have on this ground avoided
the recognition of other states, who, having followed her wicked
example in this matter, had sought commercial and political rela-

tions with her. But I humbly conceive that, having abandoned
both slavery and the slave-trade, and fixed publicly and for ever
the brand of moral reprobation on these enormous crimes, it became
her duty thenceforward to act in conformity with her noble deci-
sions—and to maintain the honourable position to which she had
been exalted among the nations of the earth. It follows, therefore,
in my apprehension, that she was brought under solemn obligations
to discountenance slavery and the slave-trade, wherever they
might exist—to foster the spirit of humanity and justice among
the nations with which she might be connected—to encourage free
and liberal institutions in new and rising states; and to refuse
friendly relations with any people who might seek to establish
slavery in countries where it had heretofore been unknown, or to
re-establish it where it had been previously abolished. In this way
she might have become the guardian of the liberties of mankind;
and her mighty influence have been exerted for good, and not for
evil, in time to come.

I need hardly state, that few indeed were the native Mexicans or
Texans engaged in the revolt which led to the formation of the
Texan republic, and which has terminated most unhappily in the
establishment of a wicked and cruel despotism, by the overthrow
of a generous system of government, which had secured liberty to
the slave, the suppression of the slave-trade, and the protection of
the aboriginal tribes. The Americans invaded the territory, and
by brute force have wrenched Texas from the parent state, re-
versed the Mexican laws, established slavery in perpetuity, and
have already issued a proclamation commanding all free persons of
African descent, whether born in the land or not, whether pos-
sessed of property or not, to quit the republic within a given per-
iod of time; and an army of twelve hundred men has been levied for
the extermination of the Indian tribes. Humanity cannot but
shudder at the sufferings which must ensue from the working out
of this iniquitous policy; and religion must again weep over scenes
of devastation and blood, which have too often and too long
covered the name of nominal Christians with ignominy.

In concluding these remarks, I cannot but contrast the painful
fact of the recognition of Texas with the non-recognition of Hayti.
In the one case, I perceive a band of marauders and slave-holders,
after having deprived a friendly power of part of its dominions
and “framed iniquity by a law,” admitted to the highest distinc-
tions and privileges this country can confer upon them; whilst, in
the other case, I behold a people, who for centuries had been en-
slaved and oppressed, after having achieved their liberty, and
established free institutions on a firm foundation, treated with scorn
and indignity.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient
humble servant.

J. H. TREDGOLD.

To this letter Lord Palmerston has directed Lord Leveson to
forward the following reply:—

Foreign Office, December 14th, 1840.

SIR,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt
of your letter of the 7th instant, addressed to his Lordship, transmitting a
copy of resolutions which the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-
slavery Society, passed on the 2nd instant, expressing their concern that
Her Majesty's government should have entered into a commercial treaty
with Texas, and protesting against the recognition of the independence
of that republic by Great Britain.

I am, in reply, directed to state to you, that Lord Palmerston very
much regrets that the committee should take this view of the measure
which has been adopted by Her Majesty's government in regard to
Texas; but that it does not appear to Lord Palmerston, on the one
hand, that the refusal of Great Britain to conclude a commercial treaty
with Texas would have had any effect in inducing the Texans to abolish
slavery within their territory; nor, on the other hand, that the conclusion
of such a treaty can have the effect of affording the Texans any encou-
ragement to continue the condition of slavery as part of their law.

It may indeed be hoped, that the greater intercourse between Great
Britain and Texas, which will probably result from the treaty, may have
the effect of mitigating, rather than of aggravating, the evils arising out of
the legal existence of slavery in that republic.

Lord Palmerston desires me to mention, that you appear to be under a
misapprehension as to the state of the relation between Great Britain and
Hayti; inasmuch as Great Britain has actually concluded a treaty with
Hayti, as an independent state; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint
you, that the specific object and purpose of that treaty is the suppression
of the slave-trade.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

LEVESON.

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq.,
Secretary to the Anti-slavery Society.

ON THE ALLEGED FAILURE OF THE EFFORTS
OF BRITISH ABOLITIONISTS.*(From the Edinburgh Review.)*

We must in the outset meet a most unfair clamour which is raised against the abolition party, by those who have only superficially considered the subject, although it is in some measure sanctioned by careless expressions, and occasionally by exaggerated statements proceeding from individuals of that party itself. We have been engaged, it is said, for above half a century in putting down the slave-trade; and after pluming ourselves on our victory over the enormity, behold, it is found to flourish more than ever. Therefore the general inference is drawn, that all our labours have been in vain, and that if, instead of attempting to destroy the traffic by force, we had set ourselves about preventing it by civilizing Africa, our object might have been attained. Another and a practical inference is, that the old and powerful party of the abolitionists are unsafe guides, because their councils have only led to failure. Now as we have for eight-and-thirty years followed these guides, and as we see no reason whatever to look out for new leaders, we shall briefly state the grounds of our continued adherence, and show how entirely fallacious these objections are.

The abolition of the slave-trade carried on by this country was the great object in view when the contest began, and that has been completely attained. Not a single slave is now imported into any of the British settlements; nor is any British subject concerned in carrying slaves to or from any other country. Slave-trading, as far as we are concerned, has been put down effectually; that is to say, as effectually as any other crime which our laws visit with severe punishment, and much more effectually than many crimes; for it is certain that fewer British subjects are engaged in this, than in the great majority of the offences cognisable by our penal laws. Now let us stop here, and suppose for a moment that nothing else has been done; that the whole of the trade given up by us has passed into the hands of other nations; that not one slave the less has been taken across the Atlantic since 1808, than would have been, had our abolition never taken place; that consequently, as far as Africa is concerned, nothing has been gained; nay, even suppose that by the traffic being under worse regulations, positive injury has been sustained in consequence of our ceasing to commit the crime—still it is quite clear that a very great benefit has been conferred upon mankind, as well as a great step been made by this country:—a great step made by this country, because we have ceased to be involved in the most horrible enormity ever committed by nations;—a great benefit conferred upon mankind, because the only way in which improvements ever can be made, is by one nation taking the lead to do what is right, and others sooner or later following. Strictly speaking, all that is required of any people is, to do their duty and keep clear of reproach. It is an additional good that their example may be followed, and benefit accrue to others as well as to themselves. It is a much better thing if they can confer the benefit sooner, by obtaining a more speedy co-operation. But the main point is doing their own duty; just as an individual has first of all to act honestly and prudently in his own concerns, and justly gains the praise of worth and wisdom, even if he should fail both by his example and his exhortations in gaining any converts to his system. The argument, if such it can be called, against which we are now contending, is as old as the very first moment of the controversy; but then it was only used by our adversaries. "Why give up your slave-trade? If you don't carry it on, others will." The answer was—"Then let them. Because there lurk a gang of robbers in the wood, who you know will pounce upon that wayfaring man, are you, therefore, to attack him before he enters it?" There is great merit in desiring to extend the benefits of our example, so that Africa may be secured from the horrors of the slave-trade; and in working actively for that purpose there is still greater merit. But the primary duty of Great Britain is, to watch over the conduct and the safety of British subjects; and as no one can have the least right to complain of her after she has abandoned all concern in the traffic, by whomsoever or in what extent soever it may subsequently be carried on, so they who have made us free from the guilt of it, have succeeded in the first great object of all their endeavours.

The same may be said of the abolition of slavery. We have succeeded completely in that important measure. Let who will hold men as property, and work them like beasts of burden, this country has no share in such enormous wickedness. If the negro emancipation should diminish the growth of colonial produce in our colonies, and, stimulating the cultivation of new lands elsewhere, create increased demand for African slaves, the crime is not ours. We have done our duty. Nor can it be doubted that our example will sooner or later be followed, long, it is devoutly to be hoped, before the perseverance of others in the guilt of slave-trading and slave-holding shall bring upon their heads, and those of their victims, the fearful visitation of negro insurrection, to which their present course is manifestly leading. Let this then be steadily kept in mind; the enemies of the slave-trade and of slavery in Great Britain have not failed; they have succeeded in their main object; they have destroyed both, as far as their own country is concerned, even upon the most unfavourable view which it is possible to take of their exertions as regards Africa and other foreign nations.

But it is not true that no positive diminution of the slave-trade has been effected. Whatever portion of the slaves imported into our colonies were required to keep up the cultivation of the old lands, has been for ever cut off from the traffic. The total num-

ber required for our colonies, was more than 20,000 a-year. If we suppose that three-fourths of this number were either sold by us again, or employed in breaking up new lands, and so increasing the amount of produce brought into the market of the world, (surely a large allowance) then our abolition has diminished, by five thousand yearly, the numbers brought from Africa, supposing that Cuba and Brazil succeeded to all the rest of our cultivation. But we must add to this a much larger number, which used to be imported into Guiana, Guadaloupe, Martinico, and Trinidad. In one year this amounted to 40,000, during the war; but that number, of course, included those required for clearing new grounds. As the French and the Dutch have abolished their slave-trade, the restoration of their colonies has left matters as they stood before the peace; or as they would have stood if we had retained those colonies. Therefore, whatever part of this number, 40,000, was destined to keep up the old cultivation, is to be reckoned as permanently taken from the slave-traffic. Now, the mortality was always much greater in the Dutch and French colonies than in ours; consequently, we cannot reckon the number saved by the abolition at less than 10,000, making the whole at the very least 15,000—which would have been torn yearly from Africa beyond the number now taken, had the great question of the abolition not been carried in England. To this number we further must add those lost on the voyage and in Africa, in order to obtain the amount imported; for the numbers to which we have been referring are those actually brought into the sugar colonies. If it be said that the attempts made to check the foreign slave-trade have occasioned a greater loss under this latter head than used to be incurred, while England, France, and Holland carried on the traffic openly, and under the sanction of the law; we answer, that the question now under discussion relates to the merits of the abolition as a British measure; and that whatever may since have been done to put down the foreign slave-trade, is wholly unconnected with that measure. If, immediately after abolishing our own traffic, and obtaining the concurrence of France and Holland to abolish theirs, we had let that of Spain and Portugal alone, the difference to Africa would have been at the least 15,000 a-year, supposing all the extension of sugar and coffee planting which the abolition stopped had been transferred to the Brazils and Cuba.

It is quite necessary to keep these things in view while we are considering this important subject; because the zeal with which men press on to things as yet unaccomplished, is always apt to make them undervalue what has already been gained; and when they are seen to deal in such careless representations, persons of reflection not unnaturally either reckon them unsafe guides, if the statement be disbelieved, or become disheartened, if it be trusted;—asking, what use there can be in exertions to obtain objects which are always described as of paramount importance until brought within our reach, and then treated as utterly insignificant. 'Nil actum REPUTANS dum quid superesset agendum,'—is an admirable principle of action; 'nil actum CLAMANS'—would most effectually take away the power of doing whatever remained to be done, at least where any co-operation was required. It is rather in the manner than in the substance of their statements, that Sir Thomas Buxton and others have given occasion to those cavils against which our present remarks are directed. The cavils, we need scarcely add, proceed chiefly from the colonial party, although they are not wholly confined to that body.

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

A VOLUME* has just been published of a very singular character, and of great interest. By means of it a few more of the secrets of the prison-house have made their escape into general notoriety. But the most remarkable circumstance is, that it introduces us to the acquaintance of a Cuban slave of high native endowment and poetical genius. Juan —, although now happily free—his name, nevertheless, is concealed, lest the publication of this volume should be to his injury at Havana—was a slave for thirty-eight years. Amidst the utmost disadvantages he taught himself to write, he acquired excellence in drawing, he shewed taste in modelling, he wrote a history of his own life, and he composed verses—nay, poetry, and that of a high order too. With advantages of culture, this man must have taken a high rank among persons of literature and taste. In the small space which we can allot to our notice of this publication, we cannot afford many extracts; otherwise we should delight in acquainting our readers with the modes of his self-culture; but we must make good our commendation of his poetical genius by citing a stanza or two. Our selection shall be from an ode, entitled Religion.

Yes, tho' in gloom and sadness I may rise,
One blessed strain can soothe my troubled soul;
No sooner wakened than with streaming eyes,
Upward I look, and there I seek my goal.
Soaring in spirit o'er the things of earth,
The spark imprisoned bursts its bonds of clay;
I feel delight above all human mirth,
And, wrapt in love, I live but then to pray
To thee, dear Father!—mighty and supreme!
Immense! eternal! infinite! and blest!
O! how the grandeur of the theme doth seem
T' enlarge my thoughts, and to inflame my breast.

* Poems by a Slave in the island of Cuba, &c.

Hail, blessed faith! thou only hope and trust,
Solace most sweet, and stay of hope most sure;
Thou sole support and shield of the oppressed,
The weak, the wronged, the wretched, and the poor.

In thee I find all purity and peace,
All truth and goodness, wisdom far above
All worldly wisdom, might beyond increase,
And, yet surpassing these, unbounded love.
O! that its light were shed on those whose deeds
Belle the doctrines of the church they claim;
Whose impious tongues profane their father's creeds,
And sanction wrong, e'en in religion's name.
O God of mercy! throned in glory high,
O'er earth and all its miseries look down!
Behold the wretched, hear the captive's cry,
And call thy exiled children round thy throne!
There would I fain in contemplation gaze
On thy eternal beauty, and would make
Of love one lasting canticle of praise,
And ev'ry theme but that henceforth forsake. pp. 102 & 104.

Juan's account of his own life is a piece of autobiography beautifully executed, and deeply interesting. It is, Dr. Madden tells us, a perfect picture of slavery in Cuba; and truly it is a most melancholy one. We can give but a single specimen.

When I recovered sufficiently, my first destiny was to be a page, as well in Havana as in Matanzas. Already I was used to sit up from my earliest years the greatest part of the night, in the city, either at the theatre, or at parties, or in the house of the Marquis M—— H—— and the Senoras C., from which we went out at ten o'clock, and after supper play began, and continued till eleven or twelve; and at Matanzas, on the days appointed, and sometimes not, when they dined at the house of the Count J., or in that of Don Juan M., and generally to pass the evening in the house of the Senoras G., in which the most distinguished persons of the town met and played at trecillo, malilla, or burro. While my lady played I could not quit the side of her chair till midnight, when we usually returned to the Molino. If during the tertulia I fell asleep, or when behind the volante if the lantern went out by accident, even as soon as we arrived the mayoral, or administrador, was called up, and I was put for the night in the stocks, and at day-break I was called to an account, not as a boy; and so much power has sleep over a man, that four or five nights seldom passed that I did not fall into the same faults. My poor mother and brothers more than twice sat up waiting for me while I was in confinement, waiting a sorrowful morning.

"She, all anxiety when I did not come, used sometimes to leave her hut, and, approaching the door of the infirmary, which was in front of the place allotted to the men where the stocks were, on the left hand side, at times would find me there; and would call to me, 'Juan!' and I sighing, would answer her; and then she would say outside, 'Ah, my child!' And then it was she would call on her husband in his grave—for at this time my father was dead.

"Three times I remember the repetition of this scene, at other times I used to meet my mother seeking me—once above all, a memorable time to me—when the event which follows happened:—

"We were returning from the town late one night, when the volante was going very fast, and I was seated as usual, with one hand holding the bar, and having the lantern in the other, I fell asleep, and it fell out of my hand: on awaking I missed the lantern, and jumped down to get it, but such was my terror, I was unable to come up with the volante. I followed, well knowing what was to come, but when I came close to the house, I was seized by Don Sylvester, the young mayoral. Leading me to the stocks we met my mother, who, giving way to the impulses of her heart, came up to complete my misfortunes. On seeing me she attempted to inquire what I had done, but the mayoral ordered her to be silent, and treated her as one raising a disturbance. Without regard to her entreaties, and being irritated at being called up at that hour, he raised his hand, and struck my mother with the whip. I felt the blow in my own heart! To utter a loud cry, and, from a downcast boy, with the timidity of one as meek as a lamb, to become all at once like a raging lion, was a thing of a moment—with all my strength I fell on him with teeth and hands, and it may be imagined how many cuffs, kicks, and blows were given in the struggle that ensued.

"My mother and myself were carried off, and shut up in the same place; the two twin children were brought to her, while Florence and Fernando were left weeping alone in the hut. Scarcely it dawned, when the mayoral, with two negroes acting under him, took hold of me and my mother, and led us as victims to the place of sacrifice. I suffered more punishment than was ordered, in consequence of my attack on the mayoral. But who can describe the power of the laws of nature on mothers? The fault of my mother was, that, seeing they were going to kill me, as she thought, she inquired what I had done, and this was sufficient to receive a blow and to be further chastised. At beholding my mother in this situation, for the first time in her life, (she being exempted from work) stripped by the negroes and thrown down to be scourged, overwhelmed with grief and trembling, I asked them to have pity on her for God's sake; but, at the sound of the first lash, infuriated like a tiger, I flew at the mayoral, and was near losing my life in his hands."—pp. 63—66.

In warmly commending this noble-minded man to the further acquaintance of our readers, we need scarcely inform them that he has not written in English. His compositions are translated from the Spanish by Dr. Madden. In addition to these, the volume contains two vigorous and effective sketches in verse by that gentleman himself, entitled, the Slave-trade Merchant, and the Sugar Estate; and in an Appendix are added several valuable and important papers, illustrative of slavery in Cuba.

UNITED STATES.

An excellent proposal has been suggested in the United States. It is to have a convention of abolitionists from various parts of the Union, sitting at Washington during the session of Congress.

TEXAS AND THE WEST INDIES.

THE *Colonial Gazette* is determined to break another lance with us, but neither in the sweetest temper, nor with the soundest discretion. Because we are not, like himself, delighted at the treaty with Texas, he says, that we "growl" out our dissatisfaction. Because we called his exclamation—"Well done, Lord Palmerston!"—"somewhat familiar," he says, that we "snarl" at him. Because we said that some of his representations were "dishonest," he affirms, that we "have no sympathies but for negroes," and that we brand every man as dishonest who has. He tells the world, moreover, that "anti-slavery lecturers and writers, are making a comfortable living by the trade," and that the unwillingness of "a paid agency" to relinquish its profits is now the main spring of "the Anti-slavery agitation." If our memory serves us, we think we have heard this before from the same quarter. It seems to be a favourite weapon, reserved for cases of difficulty, and when arguments are scarce; but we shall cheerfully leave this gentleman, who is, no doubt, eminently disinterested himself, to gain what credit he can for his affirmation—somewhat of the unlikeliest withal—that the main spring of the Anti-slavery cause is the greediness of gain. He is kind enough, indeed, to ward of the blow which he strikes; for, a few lines further on, he says, "Heed none of us, when we talk lightly or angrily of the others." This is excellent advice, and would have made an admirable motto for the whole tirade.

But we called the article—that part of it, at least, on which we commented—dishonest. We gave an instance of dishonesty, in a statement concerning Texas sugar. While we affirmed to show, "not ignorance, but artifice." Does the *Gazette* deny this? Or does he sustain the assertion, or even repeat it? He does neither, he suffers judgment of dishonesty to go by default, and then denies the justice of the accusation.

"As to Texas," says the *Gazette*, "the anti-slavery organ, with its usual one-sidedness, totally misapprehends that question;" and then the writer goes on to speak of the general considerations involved in the treaty with Texas. Now, so much of one-sidedness as is implied in passing by questions of general policy is with us, not only "usual" but habitual, it is our declared principle and invariable rule. We profess to look at measures and events exclusively as affecting the subject of slavery, and are therefore open to small blame for adhering to this method. We should not have entered on the Texas question with the *Colonial Gazette*, if our contemporary had not spoken of it in relation to slavery; and we are not to be seduced from our path by his solicitations.

But our reasonings on the subject of slavery have been met, we are told, in a former number of the *Gazette*. And how, do our readers imagine? By the declaration of its own belief, that, unless the Texan government shall adopt the colonization principle of Mr. Wakefield, and set a high price upon every acre of its territory, in order to make it impossible for poor white men to buy any—a contingency of which there is not the slightest probability—"slaves will be procured in shoals, and Texas will become the greatest slave country in the world!" A week before this writer told us, that "slavery in America" was likely to "get its death blow from Texas."

There is something amusing in the air of martial valour with which our contemporary takes up his "position" on the West India question. "Our position," quoth he, "is this—that free labour . . . is cheaper than slave labour." Why, verily, this is "our position" also; and some other of the sayings here oracularly put forth are matters, no doubt, of obvious truth. The pith of the sentence (so far as we can discover it) is, that extensive immigration to the British West Indies "would give a sufficient supply of free labour, to work out satisfactorily the problem, of the superiority of free over slave labour." On this idea we shall offer a remark. We suppose "the problem of the superiority of free over slave labour" to be the question, whether free produce can beat slave produce out of the markets of the world; and the "satisfactory working out" of this problem we suppose to be the actual supply of tropical articles by free labour, at a price with which slave-producers cannot compete. The *Gazette* affirms, that a large increase of free-labourers in our sugar colonies would produce this effect. We ask how? No doubt, more labour would raise more sugar; but that would all come into the English market, where, at the present time, it is commanding a high price. Nor would British-grown sugar ever get any further than the British market, unless an enormous quantity should be grown; for this plain reason, that the monopoly it enjoys there will always secure it a much higher price than can be got for it anywhere else. The price has generally ranged from 30s. to 50s. per cwt., while foreign sugar, if it could have got in, would have asked only 20s. to 25s. There must evidently be an immense augmentation in the growth of British sugar, before the price of it in the British market can be reduced from its present amount to 35s. per cwt.; and a much larger augmentation of it before the price can be reduced to 25s.: yet, until the price of British sugar shall be reduced in the British market to 25s., no foreign market will ever see an ounce of it, since it will always go where it can fetch the best price.

It follows, then, that it is only by an enormous and all but impossible augmentation of it, that the growth of British sugar can have any bearing on the question, whether free sugar can beat slave sugar out of the markets of the world. British grown sugar has no place in the markets of the world. It is not an article of the world's commerce. It is grown for British consumption, and nothing beyond. It is, therefore, a mere pretence—whether

honestly put forth or not we shall not inquire—it is a mere pretence, adapted to mislead persons of benevolent mind, that, by sending them plenty of emigrants, we should enable the planters to grow sugar so cheap as to undersell the Cuban planter in the markets of Europe and North America. Immigration can answer no such purpose. It will only make large fortunes for British proprietors.

As the statement we have been examining is fallacious in its principle, so in one respect it is laughably absurd. The idea that British-grown sugar is to drive slave-grown sugar out of the general market, implies that it is to be sold at 20s. to 25s. per cwt. Only imagine this! The British West India planter tells you that he longs to sell his sugar at 25s. per cwt.; and protests it so loud, that he kindles your very benevolence to help him! Why, they are crying out of ruin with sugar at 55s. per cwt.; and yet they implore the benevolence of abolitionists to assist them in reducing it to five and twenty! In September, 1831, owing to over production, sugar in the British market was at 21s. per cwt.; and no one who remembers the dismay of that period will believe that the planters would ever wish to see such a quotation again.

If the question whether free produce could drive slave produce out of the markets of the world were a "problem," it clearly must be solved by placing the two productive powers in similar circumstances. There must be no discriminating duties. But we cannot admit that this question has anything of a problematical or uncertain character. We consider it a settled point, that free labour can and will prevail over slave labour, in fair competition. The free indigo of India has driven from every market the slave indigo of the United States. And so it will be with sugar, only give time and fair play; but the monopoly sugar of the West Indies will not help forward the process.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

The first year of the existence of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER will be completed by our next number; and we purpose to furnish with it a title page and index, for the convenience of binding and reference.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 16TH.

THE services most kindly rendered to the anti-slavery cause in this country by our able and valued friends, Messrs. Birney and Stanton, being now terminated, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society have adopted resolutions expressive of their feelings towards these gentlemen respectively. We are sure that the entire body of our friends, both in town and country, will sympathise in the sentiments thus officially expressed. The resolutions are as follows:—

At an adjourned meeting of the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad-street, London, on Monday, the 7th of December, 1840,

It was unanimously resolved,

"That this committee are deeply sensible of the services rendered to the Anti-slavery cause by their esteemed friend and co-adjutor, James Gillespie Birney, Esq., whilst in this country, in a course of laborious efforts in which his accurate and extensive information, his wise and judicious counsels, and his power of calm and convincing statement, have become eminently conspicuous.

"The committee also take the present occasion to record their sense of his zealous and disinterested labours in defence of the rights of outraged humanity in his own country, during a period of great excitement and opposition; and of the proof he has given of his sincerity in having twice manumitted the slaves that had come into his possession, a noble example which they trust others will not be slow to follow.

On behalf of the committee,

(Signed)

THOMAS CLARKSON."

"That this committee, in taking leave of their friend and fellow-labourer in the cause of universal emancipation, Henry Brewster Stanton, Esq., record their high estimate of the valuable services rendered by him to that cause, whilst in Great Britain, by his eloquent and powerful advocacy; and, in tendering him their thanks, they express their sincere desire for his success in the great work to which he has devoted himself.

On behalf of the committee,

(Signed)

THOMAS CLARKSON."

A VESSEL fitted and equipped for the slave-trade has been wrecked on the English coast. This singular occurrence has not, we believe, been announced in any of the papers, but we have received from authentic sources the following particulars. In the gale of the 3rd of August last, two vessels went on shore on the Bucksea sands, about ten miles from Brightlingsea, on the coast of Essex. One of these vessels was a collier. The other was apparently of Spanish make, and of about 180 tons burthen; she was in ballast, and appeared to have been abandoned by the crew, of whom, however, or of persons who might have composed the crew, nothing is reported to have been heard. She was taken possession of by a fisherman resident at Brightlingsea, named Joseph Underwood, who found under the ballast a quantity of hand and leg fetters and ring chains, the latter fitted for securing several persons together. Underwood states that the vessel was adapted for swift sailing and shallow water; that she was pierced for guns, and that she had guns on board, some of which are now in use as ballast in several of the fishing boats; and that he has no doubt she had been in the slave-trade. Such are the facts which we

have been made acquainted with, and we give them as of unquestionable authenticity. The occurrence is certainly singular, perhaps we might say, mysterious. How could a vessel be driven from the Spanish seas to the coast of Essex? Or is it possible that slavers are equipped in the Thames?

THE Committee of the Congregational Union have, at their earliest convenience no doubt, responded to the appeal of the Anti-slavery committee, by the transmission of a series of resolutions, which we insert below. The Anti-slavery Committee have acknowledged them in a short reply (which also we insert), by which the correspondence will be closed, we trust in the best spirit on both sides, the object of it having been obtained. The following are the resolutions of the committee of the Congregational Union:—

At a meeting of the Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, held on the 17th of November, the following resolution, transmitted by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society, was taken into consideration:—

"A resolution passed at a meeting of the Congregational Union recently held in Bristol was laid before the committee, in which these words appear:—'Yet this meeting must add, in explanation, that it does not approve, but deplores, the extravagance and bitterness, the violence and irregular proceedings, by which some American abolitionists have brought discredit on their holy cause, and placed difficulties in the way of its early, peaceful, and perfect triumph.'

"That this committee cannot but regret the indefinite phraseology employed in the foregoing resolution in reference to American abolitionists, inasmuch as it may, and probably will, be applied by the enemies of the cause to the whole body; and hereby express their conviction, that it is due to all parties to indicate the persons against whom the complaint is directed."

Whereupon it was resolved—

"First—That the Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales feels so strong and ardent an attachment to the holy cause of the entire abolition of slavery throughout the world, and particularly in the United States of America, and entertains so high a respect for the judgment of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society on all questions connected with the great objects of that institution; that this committee cannot learn without great regret, that any proceedings of the body they have the honour to serve, should appear to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery society to require animadversion, as, in its judgment, injurious in any respect to the great anti-slavery movement.

"Second—That this committee must yet, with great deference, question the justice of the strictures of the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society on the resolution passed by the Congregational Union at Bristol. The committee cannot admit that the language complained of 'may' be applied by the enemies of the cause to the whole body, because, first, it is not employed, as stated in the resolution of the Anti-slavery committee, 'in reference to American abolitionists,' but to 'some American abolitionists'; and next, because, if the clause of the resolution under review 'may' be applied to the whole body of American abolitionists, there will remain no portion of them whatever to whom the foregoing sentences of the Bristol resolution can be applied, which are as follow:—"Nor can this meeting forbear to express warm sympathy with the devoted abolitionists of America in their generous zeal to free their fellow-men from hateful bondage, and their country from the more hateful crime of holding them in cruel captivity; and in the noble courage with which, amidst every disadvantage, they take their firm stand for truth, liberty, and benevolence." The phraseology in question of the resolution passed at Bristol, as used and connected by the meeting that adopted it, does not therefore seem to this committee to be 'indefinite,' but to define what it condemns; and, if it should be applied to the whole body of American abolitionists, it can only be by uncandid and unscrupulous partisans, knowingly perverting it from its intended application, and against such adversaries no accuracy of language, but only entire silence, can prove an effectual precaution. Neither is this committee able to respond to the call of the Anti-slavery committee, when that committee 'express their conviction that it is due to all parties to indicate the persons against whom the complaint is directed,' both because it is very unusual, and would be highly injurious, for public bodies, in declaring their opinions on great questions and measures of benevolence, to 'indicate persons' as the objects of their censure, and because this committee cannot feel itself authorised to give any such specific direction to sentiments not thus personally applied by a meeting of the body from which this committee receives its appointment, and under whose authority it acts.

"Third—That this committee is, however, prepared to declare its full belief that the resolution on slavery adopted by the meeting of the Congregational Union at Bristol, commencing, as it does, with a reference to the recent Anti-slavery Convention in London, was intended to express generally the sympathy of the meeting with the men, the measures, and the principles which prevailed in that Convention; and to sustain that great movement by an approving and accordant declaration. And though this committee could not commit itself to an entire approval of all the sentiments and measures adopted in the Convention—much less could it so commit the past general meeting of the Congregational Union—yet this committee feels warranted to assert for the members of the Union as a body, the honour of firm attachment to the anti-slavery cause, as represented and sustained by the men whose counsels guided the proceedings of the late memorable Convention, and to claim that all declarations and proceedings of the Union on the subject of slavery, should be interpreted in accordance with these its known sentiments on the subject."

The acknowledgment on the part of the Anti-slavery committee is couched in the following terms:—

At an adjourned meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad-street, London, on Monday, the 7th of December, 1840,

It was unanimously resolved,

1. That, without entering into the reasonings contained in the second resolution, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society accept the third as sufficiently explicit for all desirable purposes;



and are happy in being warranted to regard the Bristol resolution as 'intended to express generally the sympathy of the Congregational Union,' with the men, the measures, and the principles which prevailed in the general Anti-slavery Convention whether to be found and recognized on British or American ground.

"2. That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society cannot conclude this correspondence, without reciprocating the cordial and respectful terms in which the Committee of the Congregational Union have spoken of them and their labours, and acknowledging the justice of the claim put forth on behalf of the congregational body of England and Wales, to the honour of a firm attachment to the Anti-slavery cause.

(Signed)

JOHN BEAUMONT, Chairman."

In our columns to-day, taken from the *Congregational Magazine* of the present month, (in which the proceedings are at length reported, after seven weeks delay) appears the speech of the Rev. Dr. Matheson, at Bristol. We learn from it that he had considered himself pointed out by the language of Captain Stuart, who, early in the sittings of the Convention, spoke in pointed censure of the proceedings of both the deputations which had gone from this country to the United States. It appears also, that, with a view to his own vindication, he wrote a letter to the Rev. T. Scales, one of the secretaries of the Convention, with the view of its being read, Dr. Matheson himself being unavoidably absent. This letter was not read, and the writer has even had some trouble in recovering it. Upon this matter it is incumbent on us to offer a few words of explanation. We have then to say, that the omission of which Dr. Matheson has just cause to complain was not intentional, but wholly a matter of accident. Amidst the multitude of documents in the hands of Mr. Scales, to whose indefatigable zeal and attention we are constrained to bear the highest testimony, the letter in question was over-looked; and so completely was this the case, that, up to a late period, no other person was aware that such a letter had ever been received. On Dr. Matheson's application at the office, search was made among the documents of the Convention, and the letter was found. It is now in the writer's possession, and we express to him our sincere regret that any circumstance should have prevented the use being made of it which he intended. His address will speak for itself. We only wish that the public mind had not been stirred by the announcement of it nearly two months before its publication.

We insert a second letter to-day from Mr. Bayly, in relation to the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. It is in reply to certain references made to him by Mr. Kentish, and we have no doubt will receive from that gentleman due notice. The only observation we feel inclined to make on it is, that, while Mr. Bayly denies his personal participation in the atrocities which Mr. Kentish has described, he to a very great extent, admits their existence as perpetrated by other parties. This is the main point. It is of no consequence to us, or to the public, whether one individual may be less guilty or another more so—the wrong-doers may divide the criminality among themselves just as they please, and, if possible, to their own satisfaction; all that we care about is the system, which, it is now put beyond doubt, is not only bad in principle, as a system of slavery, but also bad in practice, as a system of cruelty and oppression.

What the directors of the Imperial Brazilian are doing we know not, but we are happy to know that some of the share-holders are looking into this very serious and important matter. A letter which has been received from one of them will communicate some information on this subject, and give occasion for one or two further remarks.

—, Dec. 4th, 1840.

"Many years since a gentleman of this place, a most zealous friend of liberty, became a shareholder in the Imperial Brazilian Mining Company, and, forming a high opinion of its prospects, induced many of his friends to purchase shares; and, so great was his power of persuasion, that several hundred shares thus passed into the hands of liberal and christian men. During this time, it was not known to these parties that the company possessed a single slave. As soon as it was known, the directors were called on to liberate the poor creatures thus held in bondage; but they assured my friend that this could not be done, in consequence of such a measure being in direct opposition to Brazilian law—that it was out of the power of the company to liberate a single slave—but that they had done all that was reasonably to be desired to render the condition of their slaves comfortable and happy. They were represented as living in every respect as freemen, saving the power to quit the estate possessed by the company—a different representation to the one given in the *Anti-slavery Reporter*! My object in writing is to say, that, if it can be clearly proved that the company have power to liberate the slaves, I believe many share-holders would call upon the general meeting to pass that act of justice; for I know persons holding many hundred shares, were a few years since silenced by a contrary representation."

Some of the matters here stated we shall leave to speak for themselves; but, with respect to the principal point, the allegation that it would be contrary to Brazilian law for the mining companies to liberate their slaves, we can state with confidence that it is wholly untrue. The fact is, that the law of the Brazils has always been remarkable for encouraging emancipation, in direct opposition both to the will and interest of the slave owner. It enacts, that if a certain moderate sum, two hundred milreis, we believe, which at the present exchange is about £25—if this sum be tendered by the slave to the master for his freedom, he has no alternative but to accept it, although the said slave, having acquired skill in some particular art or avocation, may

actually be worth ten times the amount. This is an every day occurrence, and, although much complained of by slave-owners, the legislature could never be induced to alter this very salutary enactment. We could specify instances of the general operation of this law; but we shall produce more conviction perhaps, if we quote our examples from the history of the Imperial Brazilian itself. We cite, then, Mr. Bayly, their chosen witness, who tells us, in the letter inserted in our last, that the directors of this company had begun in his time systematically to liberate the most deserving slaves—a plan which Mr. Commissioner Duval (of whom no one seems to speak but in terms of execration) has thought proper to arrest. We are informed, also, of another fact of the same class, although far less to their credit; namely, that they give freedom to old and worn out slaves, that they may not be burdened with their support when they are past labour. It is clear, therefore, that the liberation of slaves is neither contrary to the law of Brazil, nor alien from the practice of the Imperial Brazilian Mining Association. If ever the allegation stated by the writer of the letter was made on the authority of the directors, it could scarcely have been on their part less than a deliberate fraud. Even if it had been true, however, it should not have satisfied liberal and christian men. Whether or not it might have been in opposition to the law of Brazil to give men their liberty, it was in opposition to the law of God to hold them in bondage; and we can hardly understand, either the christianity or the liberality of men, who can continue, and that for many years, to be slave-holder, because it is against the law of the country to liberate them. What does the slave-holder of Louisiana say more than this? If they could not have been liberated in Brazil, they might have been brought to England, an atonement not at all too costly to have been made for the outrage of "liberal and christian" Englishmen having become buyers of slaves. But now that it is known that slaves can be liberated in Brazil as easily as in England, we hope the zeal of our correspondent and his friends will not evaporate in mere words. The offence is rank, and they should lose no time in washing their hands of it.

We are become somewhat familiar with the sapient character of Jamaica legislation; but we could scarcely have expected such an illustration of it as the following. A clause in the new Insolvent Debtors' Act is to this effect. "That if any person shall execute a conveyance of any estate within two years of his being declared insolvent, such conveyance shall be null and void." The money is to be paid, of course, but the title is not to be valid for two years! This law must have been intended to prevent altogether estates changing hands; or, if not so intended, it can scarcely have less than this effect. Why, not a proprietor of any class can be secure against bankruptcy within two years; and no person in his senses will purchase an estate, in the face of a contingency which may render the conveyance null and void. We wonder that this has been overlooked by those acute gentry, who are so laboriously depreciating property in order that they may buy it. Nor can we wonder much less that such an enactment should have been passed by legislators, to some of whom the advantageous sale of an estate, if they had one, might be so important a matter. It must, we should think, be a gross blunder, and the rectification of it will be among the changes directed by Lord John Russell.

BRITISH SLAVE-HOLDERS. IMPERIAL BRAZILIAN MINING ASSOCIATION.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Rathfarnham, County of Dublin, 30th November, 1840.

SIR—In the twenty-third number of the *Anti-slavery Reporter* I find another letter from Mr. Kentish, in which he gives my initials, and designates me as an anonymous superintendent. I can only say, that my name was not withheld by my consent, and I now beg you will insert in your next number the following remarks, to which I expect a reply. There never were more than fifty hired slaves at any time under my control, and for the last three or four years there were none. In every respect these were treated as those belonging to the association; the books in Gongo will prove this. There are several slaves who work as day labourers under the superintendent of the village; they are under no more restrictions than the native labourers. Mr. Kentish states, "that between two and three hundred negroes are hired from slave-holders at high wages, on condition that the said slaves shall belong to the said association after a certain period in consequence, and that they are thus bought and paid for by instalments." I now ask, did Mr. Kentish ever see any agreement of the kind whilst I was in Gongo, or does he know of any slave during that period having been bought or paid for by instalments? If so, state their names, time, and where the document is to be found in the memorandum book. No slaves were hired by the commissioner for the association since 1835, up to my departure from Gongo, in January, 1839; consequently, if such took place, it must have been after that date.

Out of the 413 slaves of the company there were 123 children, leaving only 290 adults to receive the £15 distributed, not to all equally, but according to their occupation for work. I mentioned the men only as those who worked over time, consequently they got what I before stated.

Four or five men only are employed on Sundays (for which they are paid), except on the most urgent occasions, and such occasions are of very rare occurrence—sometimes not for months together.

The masks were disapproved of before my arrival, and only applied by the captains at the mine occasionally, not as a severe, but as a ridiculous punishment; but, for reasons already assigned, they were subsequently prohibited, and never afterwards used during my superintendence; I, of course, know nothing of subsequent punishments.

I most solemnly declare that such a thing as brine being put on the slaves' backs after punishment never once took place, nor did I ever hear of its having been done previous to my taking charge of them. Will Mr. Kentish name any one person to whom he ever saw it applied, that such may be interrogated as to the truth or falsehood of the statement?

No slave at the head of each gang was allowed to punish the others; all were brought before me for that purpose.

Women, when discovered committing acts of infidelity, were punished by wearing the bell petticoat, or by punishment on the hands: and I do solemnly affirm, that women taken as "cheves amies" were not flogged during my superintendence, nor could I state at this time and distance, without the memorandum book, who the parties were who were guilty of this offence. The book above alluded to will give every information on the subject.

Women were never kept at hard labour up to the latest hour of their confinement. I stated that they were latterly not admitted into hospital till near their confinement, they remained in the mine shed until permitted to go there.

Nightly "Bacchanalian orgies" I mentioned before never took place whilst I was in Gongo. Will Mr. Kentish name the one who he knew diverted my visitors? I most solemnly declare such a thing never took place in my house, and I beg to remind Mr. Kentish that he was bound under a solemn oath to report to the commissioner, did he ever witness or hear of such having taken place; and I now call on him to name the time, and who the parties were that witnessed such scenes. There are two gentlemen in this country who lived in the same house with me, and who can vouch for the truth of my statement, if necessary.

The women wore the bell petticoat when they committed acts of infidelity; it was solely applied to render them conspicuous and excite shame. No instruments of torture ever hung in my office but the cats, which, I repeat, were much lighter and less severe than those used in the army.

The tread-mill was spoken of by Mr. Duval, but never received my sanction. No person's head was ever put into the stocks, their legs only. Who are the parties Mr. Kentish saw with thumb screws on? Such a thing never existed, or was even thought of, whilst I was in Gongo.

Why does Mr. Kentish suppress the fact, that, soon after my departure from Gongo, a slave belonging to the association was struck by a German at Soboleiro, and in a few minutes afterwards dropped down and suddenly died, with the retention (perhaps to this day) of the man in Gongo? This is quite enough to show what the slaves were subject to after my departure.

I am Sir, your most obedient servant,

H. L. BAYLY,

Late Superintendent of the Gongo Socco Slaves.

THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

The proceedings of the Congregational Union at their recent meeting at Bristol, having been published in two successive numbers of the *Congregational Magazine*, we extract from the December number those which relate to American slavery, and the General Anti-slavery Convention. The matter was introduced in the sitting of the 8th of October.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The Rev. Dr. REDFORD then rose and said—I will now, brethren, occupy your attention for a few moments with an important matter, which, though it was not involved in the regular business of this, has usually formed part of the routine business of our annual meeting—I refer to the subject of slavery. Two gentlemen were appointed as delegates to the meeting of the Convention in May last.

The Rev. A. WELLS said, that four delegates attended, namely, Rev. John Burnet, Rev. J. Woodwark, Joshua Wilson, Esq., and John Remington Mills, Esq.

The Rev. Dr. REDFORD requested one of those gentlemen to make a report. It was stated that neither of the delegation were present (Mr. Wilson having previously gone out.)

The Rev. Dr. REDFORD—Gentlemen, though the delegation are not present to make a report, our brother Scales of Leeds, our brother James of Birmingham, and many others are very anxious that this cause should not stand still. I suppose we all sympathise with them in that feeling, particularly as regards the brethren of our own denomination in America. I have hastily drawn up a resolution in consequence of a letter which I received from brother Scales, who, not being able to be present upon this occasion, has left it to me to address you upon the subject. Not having received sufficient notice, I have not been able to draw up such a resolution as the subject requires; but I shall be perfectly willing to remit it to the hands of the secretaries to alter, or to substitute another conveying the same in substance. If the sentiments of the resolution I hold in my hand meet with your approval, let it be referred to the secretaries to revise and correct in such a way as that it shall meet their views and yours unitedly.

The Rev. Dr. MATHESON then rose, and addressed the meeting as follows—Mr. Chairman, perhaps I am intruding in rising to second this resolution; but I feel deeply at this moment. This question has brought to my recollection—it has been seldom from it since the Convention was held in London—the broad and indiscriminate charges brought against your own deputation to America, in that large and interesting assembly. I was a member of that Convention, but was obliged to be at home after I had attended one day; and in one of the newspapers which gave an account of the proceedings of the Convention, I found that a delegate from America, Captain Stuart, had brought a very strong charge against both the deputations which had visited that country, charging them with crimes and misdemeanors, making charges which, if true, as far as our own deputation was concerned, would almost have prevented me, as an individual, from ever appearing before my brethren, especially in a meeting of the Congregational Union. When I read that account, I had no rest in my mind till I wrote a letter which I addressed to the Rev. T. Scales, as one of the secretaries of the Convention. In that letter I stated simply, and as briefly as I could, my proceedings while in America, on that very question. I stated that in public and in private I spoke of the system of slavery,

and reproved the churches and the pastors for not exercising the moral power that they possessed to remove that accursed thing. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) I stated in my letter that in several of the states, where meetings were held to receive the deputation, before thousands of the people, and before very many of the ministers, I declared my conviction that they had been criminal in not using the power they possessed against slavery. And at the last meeting that we had—the valedictory service in New York, where there were two or three thousand persons present, and seventy or eighty ministers, my very last sentence was to this effect, that I should return to England, and should be required to give some account of the state of religion and of everything else in America; their revivals I should have to speak of, and after having given, which I might do, a favourable account of many things that I had seen amongst them, I could easily suppose that some one in the assembly might rise up and say, "You have omitted one thing—you have not told us that there are two or three millions of slaves in America." And I stated more, that I hoped the Christians of that land and the churches were so convinced of the evil, that when any other deputation visited them, that deputation would find that there was not a slave in that republican country. (Cheers.) And I should say that the chief friends of the Abolition Society of New York, the morning after, called upon me, and expressed their full and entire gratification that I had been enabled, on that occasion, to bear my testimony so freely and fully to the evil of slavery, and to their sinfulness in not using the influence they possessed to remove it. Now it is grievous, after this, to have the matter so misrepresented, and in such an assembly too! I have not been called upon, and therefore never in public have stated this before; perhaps I need not have stated it now; but there are personal considerations which have compelled me to make this statement to-day (great cheering)—considerations, brethren, as to my own character and your good opinion, which forbade silence; (repeated cheering,) for, next to God and my own conscience, I value the good opinion of my brethren. I ought, perhaps, to state, that my letter to the Convention was not read. I have tried to obtain it back again, but without success; though, perhaps, it may be necessary that I should yet publish it. I wished it to be read in the Convention, that the American delegates might hear it; I wished it to be read there, that it might enable me, if my statements were doubted, to bring forward evidence. What I said on several of the occasions I have referred to appeared in the American Anti-slavery papers, with favourable comments from the abolitionists themselves. My present statement I regard as very important; for Captain Stuart's sweeping censure, though unjust towards myself, was very far exceeded in violence by Mr. Garrison, in a meeting at Glasgow. He asserted that the English ministers who had been to America had become the greatest traitors to abolition. Now, if that were so, I should not have been here to-day. And what I regret is, that there were parties present at that meeting who knew the charge was not true as it regarded myself, and yet they had not the kindness to state what they did know. When the newspapers announced the charge against the deputations at first, some five years ago, I wrote to my friends in Glasgow, stating that it was not true with regard to myself—let others defend themselves, if necessary. This note was sent to Dr. Wardlaw. His reply to my friend, though written at that time, was sent to me only a few weeks since. That reply is now in my hand, and, if you will allow me, I will read a few extracts from it; not supposing you doubt my word, (hear, hear,) but just to show what were Mr. G. Thompson's views respecting myself in this matter, when he returned from America. Here Dr. M. read some passages from Dr. Wardlaw's note, stating Mr. T.'s opinion, and exculpating him from all blame, and speaking of his conduct while in America with approbation. The reverend gentleman proceeded in his address—When the meeting to-day had the subject brought before it by Dr. Redford, I felt that I must speak, and express my regret that the silence of those who could have defended me in London and in Glasgow, has obliged me to defend myself to-day. I have further to say, that, since the time when I was in that country, I have had opportunities of sending, twice a month, communications to one of their abolition journals; and in those journals I have kept this great subject before the American public, and some of the severest charges that could be brought against them, are to be found in those communications that I sent. I do think that I am not guilty. (Loud cheers.) I have stated this to-day only in self-vindication. I blame no other parties; my duty is to clear myself from charges which are unkind and untrue. I went out with the free consent of the committee to use my own discretion. I did so; and I had to engage in a moral conflict with all sorts of opponents, in the house and by the way; for very many hours of my time were spent in discussing this very question, and I never concealed my views of the guilt of slavery, or the guilt of Christians in not trying to remove it.

The reverend doctor's address was responded to throughout by loud cheers from the meeting.

The Rev. J. BURDEN, of Stroud, was exceedingly glad that Dr. Matheson had had that opportunity of defending himself. The instance before them afforded a proof of the injury which was done to a good cause by ultraism and calumny. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. G. SMITH, of Plymouth, felt almost inclined to regret that Dr. Matheson should have thought it necessary to explain his conduct with reference to American slavery. Those who knew Dr. Matheson would not require from him any explanation.

Rev. A. WELLS—It is not only in respect of some theological sentiments now prevailing in America, that caution on our part is necessary, but also on the subject of slavery itself. It will be impossible for the meeting to express its unqualified approbation of all the proceedings and sentiments of abolitionists in that country. I shall cordially concur in expressions of warm sympathy with the great body of the American abolitionists, if they be explained and limited by a clear statement of its disapproval of ultra and violent proceedings.

E. BAINES, Esq., M.P. rose and said—I had the honour to be a member of the Convention; I had not the opportunity of taking much part in the proceedings; and I must say, although there was a good deal of eccentricity in the conduct of some at the Convention, I believe a meeting of that nature, perhaps, was hardly ever assembled in which there was manifested throughout a more genuine love of liberty. I believe, too, that the results of that Convention will be highly beneficial—that it will exert an influence eventually upon that most degraded position in which the Americans

stand, that, I mean, of being supremely the friends of liberty, and supremely the supporters of slavery.

The Rev. R. ELLIOTT, of Devizes, said—I wish to know if it is intended that the observations of Dr. Matheson should subside with their expression in this meeting. I quite agree with the gentleman who has just sat down, that any of us who are engaged in an important work must expect to meet with misrepresentations. But there is a peculiar delicacy in the case of Dr. Matheson. That delicacy has shown itself in the circumstance that he has not been forward to vindicate himself. He has suffered a good deal of agitation of mind, as every man must do when his character—I say, his character—is at stake. Is it, then, a proper thing, that we, as the brethren of Dr. Matheson, who believe that he acted most nobly throughout, should allow this explanation to subside without adopting some resolution to show what is our own opinion upon the subject?

The Rev. J. BURDER, of Stroud, said—The only difficulty is respecting our brother, Dr. Reed. I think we are to presume that, if Dr. Reed were here, he could vindicate himself. Therefore, much as I should like to honour Dr. Matheson, I think that to pass a vote would seem by implication to censure our absent friend.

The Rev. Dr. MATHESON—I think I may be allowed to say, that I should very much object to anything that might have the appearance of calling upon the brethren to make what might be termed an invidious comparison. I can say, from my heart, Mr. Chairman, that I have been willing to endure all these things to this day, because I did not wish it to appear as if I had done better than my brethren who have gone to that country; and I was only induced to address you upon the subject to-day by the necessity which was laid upon me from the peculiar circumstances in which I was placed. If I had allowed this motion to pass *sub silentio*, or seconded it without giving an explanation of my conduct, I should have appeared the most inconsistent of men. But I will tell you the chief reason why this came from me to-day. I expect the documents of the Convention will shortly be published; thus putting on historical record the broad unexplained charges against the deputation. Now, I say that that is more painful to me than the passing and exciting remarks which may be made at a public meeting; and, if anything could be done to prevent that—or if there could be a note explaining it—I should not care for anything else. But it is grievous to me to be accused as one who has done that before God and man which I did not do. Ministers have said, “We will give you letters, declaring that you did your duty;” abolitionists have said the same; and when that is the case, I do not want to be handed down to the next age as “a traitor” to the cause.

The Rev. S. S. WILSON, of Shepton Mallett, asked whether it would be proper for this assembly to bind itself to a resolution which was not formally before it?

Dr. REDFORD expressed his confidence in the ability and discretion of the secretaries to prepare a resolution, combining the sentiments he had expressed, with the suggestions of Mr. Burder and Mr. Blackburn.

The meeting agreed to this arrangement.

THE JAMAICANS AND THE IRISH.

UNDER their new immigration act, the planters of the isle of springs are wooing the peasants of the green isle of the ocean. Three vessels are lying at Irish ports—one of them at Limerick, inviting emigrants to Jamaica, under plausible representations, and with considerable success. This matter has been taken up with characteristic warmth by benevolent persons across the channel, among whom we may name particularly our excellent friend, Mr. Haughton. It was introduced by him at a meeting of the Repeal association, where Mr. John O’Connell spoke on it with much force. The *Dublin Freeman’s Journal* was the first paper to notice it, and others have subsequently taken it up. It seems that the agents in this affair have circulated, but in a very cautious manner, a paper entitled, *Remarks to Emigrants*, a delusive and Jamaica-like document. It is thus commented on in the *Freeman’s Journal*.

It begins with announcing that, “Under the Jamaica act of Assembly (remember what the Jamaica House of Assembly is), passed the 4th of April last, to encourage emigration, a large sum of money was appropriated to pay the passage of emigrants.”

It then states “that there are two modes of proceeding: one to go out under engagements—the other (and the one upon which we are now acting) is that the people are to go out FREE AND UNFETTERED, EXCEPT (those last words appear in capitals—now let us see the exceptions) under this only restriction, imposed for their own benefit (very considerate truly) that the Agent General of Emigration (who is he?—doubtless some creature of the planters), appointed by the Governor to receive them on their arrival (just as though they would be welcomed with drums and trumpets on reaching the land—now mark!), gives his sanction by a written PERMISSION to the engagement, first having examined and been satisfied that proper provision has been made for their comfortable accommodation, and that the climate is healthy, and suited for European labourers.”

What balderdash! First bring them out, and then see “that the climate is healthy, and suited for European labourers.” Why, every one in Jamaica knows that the climate is most deadly to Europeans.

But what follows next is not in large letters:—“Persons engaging emigrants without his written permission are made liable to a fine of 50l. and emigrants for contravention of the same (what is the meaning of this?—it is very unintelligible to an Irish peasant) are made subject to pay the amount of their passage out.”

It then goes on to say, that the rate of wages, &c., is to be arranged between the several parties making bargains—that the law provides the indentures (alias Jamaica apprenticeship) shall not exceed THREE YEARS. “The bond (a startling word in Jamaica) will also be for the parties themselves to engage—say from eighteen months to three years, as they may agree upon (but mark the condition) with the concurrence of the Agent-General.”

Then it comes out that the person who engages emigrants is to pay half the passage money out “say not over five pounds” (ah, this word say is very indefinite, and it occurs more than once). “This, of course, will form a claim against the emigrants (mind, his wife and family are also to

be paid for, and are probably not in the same bond, but doubtless liable for the amount), to be cancelled by the fulfilment of the engagements they enter into.”

Alas, they may never fulfil them! Death may intervene. The scorching heat of a tropical sun will stretch them under a burning fever; the survivors will have to fulfil the bond!

And then comes the boasted recompence! “The usual rate paid for FARM LABOUR by the day in Jamaica, is from one shilling to one and sixpence!!!” And this is the reward for which expatriation first, and then disease, misery, and death, are to be encountered! including also the three years’ apprenticeship, the restrictions, the danger of being in for the whole passage-money, &c., &c.

Our peasantry must indeed be fools to be gulled for a moment by such glaring sophistry!

There is something about “the liabilities for half the passage—say not over five pounds—not standing in the way of a good servant employing himself elsewhere,” to which we call particular attention.

And this flaming document winds up with some other announcements, amongst which is, that “labour is regular all the year round, and no winter.” But is there no summer? Are there no days and months in which the white labourer would hardly turn out, except with the negro lash at his back?

The *Dublin Monitor* says, “We never heard or read of a scheme so manifestly intended to entrap as this is, even by the showing of its own handbills, and *Remarks to Emigrants*.” The *Journal* further says,—

We are sincerely glad to be able to announce that the energetic measures which have been resorted to are likely to have an excellent effect in staying the headlong course of our peasantry at Limerick. The subject has been actively taken up by the friends of humanity there; they have exerted themselves untiringly and energetically, and have awakened a public sympathy on behalf of those of our countrymen who had swallowed the bait. Thomas Steele, too, has come into the field. “He met the agent of the Robert Kerr (says a Limerick correspondent) and told him plainly, as a guardian of the Irish peasantry, he would feel it to be his duty to prevent any of them sacrificing themselves, as he believed they would do if they embarked in West India servitude.”

The same correspondent also says, “The Roman Catholic clergymen are taking up the subject. One in a neighbouring parish (Parteen) spoke of it, and denounced it on last Sabbath. The consequence is, I understand, that the persons belonging thereto who were about to emigrate to Jamaica now refused to do so. The emigration advertisements are withdrawn from the newspapers, whether from the noise made about the affair, or that the vessel is filled, I cannot learn, but I fear the latter.”

All this, the West Indians will say, is obstructing free emigration. Our answer is, No, gentlemen; it is exposing artifice and fraud. The cry of free emigration! is very well; but, so long as you make it a pretext for studied and fatal deception, you must be watched and resisted. Learn to be honest, gentlemen; depend upon it honesty is the best policy. We are glad our Irish friends have been so prompt and energetic on this occasion; and we warmly recommend all parties concerned to listen to their counsel.

MAURITIUS.—Extract of a letter from Mauritius, dated 27th August, 1840.

“Our excellent and energetic governor, Sir Lionel Smith, is beginning to bestir himself to the right and left in favour of the oppressed; but at present without exciting the fierce animosity of our party journals. They have tried to flatter him, but their unnatural exertions in that line begin already to languish.”

Home News.

TEXAS.

At a special meeting of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee held at the public office, on Friday, December 11th, 1840—The Rev. Thomas Morgan, in the chair.

It was resolved unanimously,

“I. That this Committee has heard with grief and indignation of the virtual recognition of Texas as an independent state, by the British government.

“II. That this Committee feels an invincible repugnance to any step which admits Texas into the honourable position of a place among the civilized family of man, and that for the following reasons:—

“1. Because of the character of the people, composed of rebel subjects of Mexico, a free State in friendly alliance with us, and reckless adventurers from the United States, whose notorious object is to aggrandize themselves by trampling on the rights of humanity.

“2. Because a country in which, while it was an integral part of Mexico, freedom was enjoyed, is now to be cursed with all the ills of slavery.

“3. Because a fearful stimulus will be given to slave rearing and the slave-trade in the United States, by the demand in Texas.

“4. Because almost insurmountable obstacles will be placed in the way of the American abolitionists in their exertions for achieving the liberation of the slaves in the United States.

“5. Because additional facilities will be afforded for the surreptitious importation of slaves from Africa.

“6. Because a grievous wrong is inflicted on the free negroes, who, by the constitution of the State, are expelled from the soil; and upon the aborigines, who are doomed to extermination by a merciless warfare.

“7. Because it is palpably inconsistent that Great Britain, which by treaties, expensive armaments, and especially by the sacrifice of twenty millions sterling, has been endeavouring to accomplish the abolition of the slave-trade and slavery, should now give them encouragement to an extent which threatens to counterbalance all these exertions.

“III. That, therefore, this Committee protests against the recognition of Texas as an independent State in alliance with Great Britain, and earnestly hopes that measures may be taken to avert the evils which must inevitably result from a perseverance in the course which has been adopted.

THOMAS MORGAN, Chairman.”

ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW IN JAMAICA.

At a meeting of the committee of the Birmingham British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at the Public Office, on Friday, the 11th of December 1840, the Rev. Thomas Morgan in the chair,

It was unanimously resolved,

"That this committee have heard with deep regret that the stipendiary magistrates of Jamaica, have been instructed to suspend their monthly reports on the administration of the laws and the condition of the negroes in their respective districts, and in future to make reports half-yearly only, and to state nothing which might be painful to individuals!

"That this committee cannot refrain from an expression of their astonishment and sorrow that these instructions should have been sanctioned by the Secretary of state for the colonies; such instructions being little less than a mockery and insult to the legislature and people of this country, who, after paying twenty millions for emancipation, are left without official means of ascertaining the working of the new system.

THOMAS MORGAN, Chairman."

At an adjourned meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held at 27, New Broad-street, London, on Monday, the 7th of December, 1840,

It was unanimously resolved,

"That this committee having taken into consideration the reply of her Majesty's colonial secretary to their communication on the circular recently issued by the governor of Jamaica, to the stipendiary magistrates of that colony, to resume their reports only half-yearly, and to state nothing which might be painful to individuals, feel it to be their duty to record their severe disappointment that Sir Charles Metcalfe should have obtained his lordship's sanction for such a course inasmuch as thereby one of the great objects for which that body was appointed is defeated, and its general usefulness greatly impaired; the legislature and people of this country are left without official means of ascertaining the working of the new system—and the liberated negroes are deprived of that protection which their present circumstances, the character of the laws which have been allowed to go into operation, and the oppressive spirit of not a few of their masters, imperatively demand. The committee, therefore, call upon their friends in Jamaica to watch with vigilance, and to report with promptitude, the movements of the legislature and the local magistracy; to mark every infraction of the letter and spirit of the laws, and to put them early in possession of such information as will enable them to convey to the public of this country correct impressions of the state of that important colony.

(Signed)

JOHN BEAUMONT, Chairman."

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

THE ADDRESS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE BAPTIST UNION to the slave-holding churches of that denomination in the United States, contains the following passages:—

"An apology on your part, with reference to the continuance of slavery, founded on your political condition would, in our judgment, have no force whatever. Have men no rights, or have you no duties, but such as are given or imposed by human laws? Or, is there no authority greater than that of man? Legislators are bound to consider whether in the principle or clauses of a law about to be made, anything be contrary to the law of God. If there be, they have no right to make it. To do so is rebelling against divine law, and using means to make others rebel with them. Should they have done so, by all the superiority which they yield to God in his claim to their obedience, they are bound on the discovery to abrogate it. The protection of crime by human laws cannot change its nature. That congress and all the states are joined in an act of disobedience to God, will never make it right, or justify your participating in it. By your profession of christianity, you have bowed to one who is higher than they.

"We do not address you as labouring under responsibility for actions not within your reach. The clearest precepts of our holy religion require both us and you to have no fellowship with the works of darkness, but rather to reprove them. Though christians may not yet be able to regulate the decrees of congress, or even those of their own states' legislature, they may regulate the resolutions of their own churches. If they cannot at present remove this grievance from the governments of the earth, they may at least cleanse themselves and the churches from these pollutions. It is to this purifying of the church from participation in the crime of enslaving their fellow-men, and of holding them in slavery, that you are now urged; and we hope not urged in vain.

"Beloved in the Lord. We have rejoiced over you with great joy, in many things which manifest your zeal for God and love for souls. We have traced your labours with delight, both at home and abroad. We have seen your activity in the Old World, even to the very place where the Saviour died; and the sound of your prayer has reached us, when, in solemn convocation, you implored direction and mercy for thousands who are perishing in the Western Valley. It is because we love you, and the common cause of mercy, that we say these things: to cast away all fellowship in this immeasurable crime.

"Deeply impressed with the justness and importance of the preceding sentiments, we have received with approbation intelligence of that activity to which some of the American churches have been roused, and the vigour with which they have advanced towards the solemn act of withholding christian fellowship from such as hold property in man. The same course being in progress in this country, we urge you with the utmost earnestness not to force the brethren to the painful consummation to which such proceedings must lead.

"Praying that in this, and in all things, you may be guided and blessed by the Father and Redeemer of our spirits,

"We are, dear brethren, Yours in christian affection."

At a meeting of the Congregational Church assembling in Bedford Street Chapel, Stroud,

It was unanimously resolved,

"That for one human being to have such absolute control over another human being as is now possessed by slave-holders in the United States of America, is manifestly a violation of the royal law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

"That the cruelties practised in innumerable instances by slave-holders in that country, on the wretched victims of their despotic power, are repugnant alike to religion and to humanity.

"That the fact that professing christians in that country are chargeable with these glaring transgressions of the divine law, is matter of the deepest regret.

"That this church cordially approves the sentiment of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, that christians ought not to hold communion with any persons who, having been admonished of these faults, as American christians have been, persevere in such a course of evil-doing.

"That whilst it would gladden the hearts of the members of this church to welcome to their communion consistent christians from the United States, to whatever part of the church they might belong, this church will feel it to be matter of duty to refuse the right-hand of fellowship to every slave-holder.

(Signed)

JOHN BURDER, Pastor."

Hitchin, Dec. 12th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have much pleasure in sending you the following Resolution, passed unanimously by the Church under my pastoral care at its last meeting.—I am very sincerely yours,

JOHN W. WAYNE.

Resolution passed by the Congregational Church, assembling at Back Street Meeting-house, Hitchin, Hertfordshire, December 6th, 1840.

Resolved—"That, being deeply convinced of the exceeding sinfulness of the Slave-trade and Slavery; and having learned from undoubted authority, that many members of professedly christian churches of different denominations in the United States of America are both slave-dealers and slave-holders; this Church hereby avows its solemn determination not to hold communion with such persons, or with any who are known to be their abettors, defenders, or apologists. Signed on behalf of the Church.

JOHN W. WAYNE, Pastor."

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

Chatham, 3rd Dec. 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—At a church meeting held at Ebenezer Chapel, Chatham, on the 27th ult., the following resolution was unanimously adopted, which I now forward to you to be employed at your discretion.

Resolved,

"That the members of this church, having heard the resolutions of the general Anti-slavery Convention concerning the participation of many of the American churches in slavery, would express their full concurrence on the same; and, regarding slavery as a violation of the rights of man, as a sin against God, as a blot upon the christian name, and as a barrier to the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom in the world, determine to have no fellowship with those churches or individuals who hold their fellow-men in bondage."

I am, my dear Sir, your's faithfully.

(Signed)

P. THOMSON, Pastor.

To J. H. Tredgold, Esq.

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